20c DECEMBER 15, 1952

THE CIO—REUTHER TAKES OVER

New Republic

ADLAI STEVENSON

ON PHILIP MURRAY AND THE NATURE OF LEADERSHIP

AN END TO JIM CROW SCHOOLS?

THE SUPREME COURT TO RULE

Reviews of

GIDE-CLAUDEL LETTERS By Joseph Frank

MACLEISH COLLECTED POEMS By Kimon Friar

THOMAS LINCOLN BIOGRAPHY By Gerald Johnson

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Letters

Already, an Inkling

● Already the news columnists like Drew Pearson and Thomas L. Stokes are giving us an inkling of what is transpiring in Washington since the November election. They tell us how the powerful lobbies are whetting their cleavers for the fresh, raw meat soon to be laid before them in the new administration and the sound of their jubilation fills the air around the city.

The action of the press in the last campaign should prove to us that we can place no reliance in that source of information for impartial news coming out of the National Capital. This makes it necessary for liberals to do their utmost to extend the circulation of periodicals like the *New Republic* to the end that the public may have access to factual information instead of carefully planned propaganda. With this thought in mind I enclose money for a new two-year subscription.

Pittsburgh, Pa. JOHN EVANS

Time for a Change

● It is with the greatest pleasure that I am sending you the payment for a 13-week *New Republic* subscription. You will note that the enclosed check is a refund payment from *Time* upon the cancellation of my subscription. Make no mistake, I liked to read *Time*, but I believe that only by withholding our support can we correct the one-party press. I'm trying to get my friends to stop their support too. Our slogan is "Why pay to have your throat cut."

Foster, Ohio R. S. JUTERBOCK

One-Party Press

● . . . To me the most dangerous aspect of the present situation is that future opposition is likely to be without a voice. With 80 percent of the press supporting the incoming administration there will be no "important competition of ideas", no "competition in opinion." The liberal weeklies such as the *Nation* and the *New Republic* are in the lonely position of being forced to talk to themselves—a liberal voice speaking almost exclusively to liberals. Furthermore they are publicly discounted merely on the grounds of liberalism. See, for instance the editorial in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* (Nov. 20) which says of the *NR's* one-party press article that "no one above the age of six would expect any more of the *New Republic*. . . ." Lacking the voice of the "loyal opposition" so important in British politics, we are likely to become silent and disintegrated unless this new Stevenson vitality can be channelled into a force that "shall endure and grow in light and become a living testament to all mankind, of goodness and of mercy and of wisdom."

Springfield, Ill. JEAN HOWLETT

● If Edwin C. Hill (*NR*, December 1) thinks that "talking sense" to the American people is such a tragic mistake that no politician will dare to do it for the next 100 years, by all mean's let's provide a way for Governor Stevenson to go on the air and TV to continue to talk sense and thus teach Hill and others that the American voters are not as dumb as they think. Certainly since the special interests seem to be taking over the government lock, stock and barrel there is need for someone to talk sense by telling the people what's going on behind the "Silk Curtain" in Washington. The public must be continually reminded that only an enlightened democracy is a strong democracy, and you cannot have an enlightened democracy when about 95 percent of the press, radio commentators and columnists not only give us a one-sided account of what is going on, but in all too many cases distort the facts, misquote the opposition and deceive their readers in many ways that are not worthy of honest journalism.

Atlanta, Ga. O. D. SMALL

Keeping Stevenson Going

● To help "keep Stevenson going" in whatever manner he chooses, at whatever time he is ready to make the decision is one of the best possible investments a liberal citizen can make at this time.

Count on me for $5 a month, to be used entirely at Mr. Stevenson's discretion. Much as I want to hear him on the radio or see him on TV in the bleak years ahead, I don't think he should be stampeded into this. I have the utmost confidence in the wisdom of his decision, and believe there should be no strings attached to our tiny contributions.

Enclosed is my first monthly premium on this insurance policy for democracy.

New York City DOROTHY T. HIRSCH

● . . . There is an urgent need of bringing Stevenson back to the air. We of the 26 million who voted for him will certainly need a spokesman who will reach all of the American people. . . .

Radio still holds first place with many people. . . . People still listen to radio in the morning, or in the late evening. Millions of radios operate in cars and in bedrooms, as well as in many industrial plant recreation rooms, in stores, and in other places where TV is impractical. Let's have him on both TV and radio.

Redwood City, Calif. LEONIE E. SCHMIDT

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Never Sacrifice a Principle

"In 1912 came the convention that led to the Bull Moose Party. Theodore Roosevelt was enormously popular in our territory. Keeley felt it would be good journalism to employ him as editor. This suggestion was repugnant to Joe Patterson and me. We turned it down and used the amount that would have been his salary—$15,000 a year—to buy the comic, "Katzenjammer Kids." – *From Colonel McCormick's Memoirs in the Chicago* Tribune.

Headline of the Week

South African Says Discrimination Is Repugnant to His Countrymen

Ambassador Jooste, Defending Race Laws, Insists Whites' Priority Is Indisputable
—From the New York Times.

Most Fascinating Review of the Week

Miss Jeanette MacDonald, wearing a shimmering cocktail dress, a six-foot-long fur neckpiece and a hat with feathers, sang at Constitution Hall yesterday. – *Exact reproduction from the Washington Daily* News.

On the Inside Looking Out

Reporters asked him [Harold E. Stassen, the incoming Mutual Security director] about his pre-campaign advice to withhold aid from countries that nationalized their industries or engaged in "Socialistic schemes."

"There is a difference," Stassen answered, "between an administrator in charge of an administration program and an individual speaking for himself in opposition." – *From the Washington* Post.

Hallelujah!

The Revised Standard Version of the Holy Bible, a new and authorized revision by American Protestant scholars . . . is the "greatest development of the century for Christianity," Dr. Muilenburg declared. Changes were made, he said, "only when necessary . . . to make the language accurate and understandable," but the "immoral lines have been preserved." – *From the New York* Times.

The Most Best?

. . . I sincerely believe that Ike is really trying to get the best men [for cabinet posts] and if he finds that they are not doing a good job they will be replaced by still better men. – *From a letter to the editor of the New York* Daily Mirror.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

AMERICA has an "80-Percent Press." It was 80-percent Republican in the Presidential campaign; it is 80 percent now. It is one of America's greatest dangers. For who is going to tell what goes on in Washington in the next four years in a press that has relegated Adlai Stevenson to page 13 in the past four months.

Eisenhower deserves every bit of cooperation possible in Korea. Yet who will point out, in the 80-Percent Press, that peace is harder to get today because Ike was willing to throw Korea into campaign politics? This was the one partisan attack Stevenson could not forgive. It made votes for Ike, lots of votes, and it also upped the Communists' asking price for peace with every Republican speech on America's war weariness and every GOP example of national division whipped up in the monolithic attack.

Now Ike returns triumphantly from the Korean visit. This is the trip the ex-*Life* writer thought up for him. Having visited Korea and held his conferences, Ike says it is a tough problem, not susceptible to panaceas. Yes, we seem to remember that is what Adlai said, on page 13, in the campaign. The three-day visit to Korea has made the 80-Percent Press oh so happy, and left nothing more to be done—nothing, that is, except to solve the bloody stalemate.

The next four years may see the biggest lobby drive since Grant's day to loot the public domain, reverse history and crown big business. Ike has picked a cabinet of eight millionaires and one plumber. Who is going to tell the continuing story of Washington in the 80-Percent Press? When they hand the Capitol Dome, or offshore oil, over to the corporations will your local paper tell the story? We hate to ring in a commercial at this point, folks, but if you really want to know what gives in Washington in the next 12 months, a subscription to a *Certain Magazine* is always handy.

We like Ike. A lot of things about him are attractive. But he keeps worrying us. For instance he gave a "press conference" in Korea. It was one where no questions were allowed reporters; he just did all the talking. The monologue sounded like one of Ike's agreeable little rear-platform campaign talks. Will he do this as President? Ike has been protected from reporters all his life. He is the first President in modern times to take office without ever facing the ordeal of full-scale White House-type press conference. Ike already has the editorial pages on his side; won't reporters even be allowed to ask questions?

The Taft explosion against Ike's secretary of labor last week shook commentators like David Lawrence and Fulton Lewis but they reacted manfully; chins up. Lawrence, who has made himself the all-but-official expositor of what's in the minds of Ike and Houndstooth Nixon came through hastily on December 3 with a column which the Washington *Star* significantly labeled "There's No Taft-Eisenhower Rift." After thinking it over 24 hours Lawrence however decided next day that "General Fumbled Appointments." Our man Fulton reacted faster. In his commentary, December 2, he found the Durkin choice "frightening to say the least." Saddest thing was that he hadn't known about it in advance. Chagrin showed all through his report that he had talked to "innumerable Republican leaders" and that, like him, they were all "completely surprised." We fear Lewis has lost touch with the Dewey wing of the party. After making the astonishing pronouncement that "Taft's version of what labor law should be was a major factor in the landslide victory of November 4," Lewis demanded why Ike had "openly offended and flouted

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Senator Taft?" Stormy weather ahead, Ike; stormy weather!

On May 16, 1950, the lawyers for 67 Negro children filed suit in Charleston, S. C., to end school segregation. A federal court decided against them two to one. On May 10 of this year the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case. Governor Byrnes meanwhile threatened to "abandon the public-school system" if the decision is adverse; he eulogized Ike in the campaign at a great mass meeting at which Ike avoided the segregation issue and all but put the state in the GOP column as the party less likely to carry through the drive. In the same election the state ratified a Byrnes' amendment permitting the legislature to drop public schools. Governors of Georgia and Mississippi also threaten to end the public-school system. This is the big case on which argument finally starts this week here before the Supreme Court. It is brought by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has won 30 out of 33 cases in the high court since 1915.

It was Jesse Jones' Houston *Chronicle* and not Oveta Culp Hobby's Houston *Post*—as we stated last week—that serialized McCarthy's book during the recent campaign. We blush at our mistake, and are happy to apologize to the new head of the Federal Security Administration.

Notes: The House Committee Investigating Campaign Funds found the GOP spent $2 for each $1 spent by Democrats. . . . Noted Boston physician James H. Means suggests private health insurance isn't the answer in the December *Atlantic Monthly*; when the respectable periodical tried to advertise the piece in the American Medical Association's *Journal*, the latter rejected the ad. . . . Twenty-eight of the necessary 32 state legislatures have now petitioned for a Constitutional amendment limiting federal income taxes to 25 percent; this thoroughly vicious millionaires' amendment is backed by the Western Tax Council which says it will easily get the remaining four signatures from the 20 state legislatures convening in January which have so far not acted.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

● Ever since the election a small group of my friends and I have been discussing the possibility of setting up a fund for two purposes: (1) to support Governor Stevenson on television about four times a year, and (2) to build up a reserve for the 1956 Presidential campaign.

While it is difficult to designate an arbitrary number of TV appearances, we generally agree that a monthly appearance might become tedious over a four-year period. Quarterly appearances, however, supplemented by one or two TV speeches if a particularly pressing issue should arise, would seem to be the most desirable.

In any case, we have tentatively decided that a club should be formed with dues set at about fifty cents per month. One half of this amount would be put aside for the '56 campaign, the other half to defray part of the cost of national television speeches. If several thousand members nationally could be enlisted it could amount to a considerable sum. . . .

Brookline, Mass. JORDAN MILLER

● I hope that the Keep-Stevenson-Going program will be carried out by an independent organization, rather than by the Democratic National Committee.

I've been hypersensitive to the word "Democratic" ever since I found out that —here in Texas at least—"Democratic" sometimes really means "Republican."

Austin, Texas KAY THOMAS

[Listed below are names of others who have either sent donations to the *New Republic* to be held in a fund to keep Stevenson on radio or television, or are willing to contribute to such a fund. — THE EDITORS.]

Stanton A. Coblentz, Mill Valley, Calif.; Jeanelle Hart, Bethesda, Md.; Esther Hawthorne, Middleboro, Mass.; Joseph M. Isaacs, New York City; E. Kellett, Detroit, Mich.; F. L. Salchow, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; O. D. Small, Atlanta, Ga.; Irwin Spark, New York City; Kay Thomas, Austin, Tex.

Corruption in Government

● We were hoping that Francis Biddle would find it possible to include something constructive on the federal civil service system in his articles (*NR*, Nov. 3 and Nov. 10). Unfortunately he seeks to justify the present "spoils" system of appointment. He points out the one case where the "spoils" system advocates attempted to examine attorneys for government service, but he quickly points out that the attorney examinations (which were admittedly good) were quashed and died in infancy.

Mr. Biddle fails to mention that *his* civil service includes only a tiny fraction of government employees. He fails to mention that it is *his* tiny group who have prevented the Civil Service Commission from establishing a "career" or "merit" system in the federal service. It is *his* tiny group who force all federal civil service into two classes, i.e., Senate confirmation (party politics) and Civil Service Selection (office politics). They attempt to sabotage the Civil Service Act of 1883 and have never permitted the Civil Service Commission to carry out the plain words of that Act which are that appointments to the federal service shall be "First, by open competitive examination . . . to test the fitness of persons who aspire to employment in the service."

Alhambra, Calif. C. FELTON

Critical of Critic

● In New York for the weekend, I spend my mornings examining Fifth Avenue's store windows. What are the new wares of this fabulous taste-leading city? In bookstore windows, Tallulah's face reminds me. I go in: everybody is buying *Tallulah.* The extraordinary power of publicity! I discover another book, unpublicized, and, I remember, poorly reviewed in your November 24 *New Republic.* This is Eric Bentley's *Modern Repertoire*—an unusually imaginative collection of plays. Frank Jones reviews it kindly but without the inspiration it merits. And I think sadly—these plays, every one of them, is as entertaining as Tallulah's autobiography. But the book is dead —killed by press disinterest and disinterested reviewers. I wonder—do your reviewers know the great responsibility they carry?

Boston, Mass. JANE PETERSEN

● Frank Jones' review of Eric Bentley's *Modern Repertoire II* (*NR*, November 24) ignored one important practical point. Even in the theatre world of which I am a part (as an actress) I find a large gap in people's awareness of produceable plays; they know the obvious classics, they know modern American plays. What they ignore is the kind of play Mr. Bentley selects for his Repertoire series. Certainly our young playwrights would benefit from the book's wide range of technique and imaginative resources. I hope it will reach them.

New York City ANN WEAVER

[The series of articles on "Point Four and the Battle for Asia" by Clarence Decker will be continued next week. — THE EDITORS.]

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New Republic

REUTHER, MEANY AND LABOR UNITY

THE LIBERAL movement, like all others, turns on leadership. It has found one brilliant leader this year in Adlai Stevenson: now George Meany and Walter Reuther take their places at his side.

There are, of course, labor leaders as illiberal as the men they confront across strike lines. And there are liberals who feel that labor's just claims are largely won. If the teamsters defend academic freedom, or academic leaders the right of steelworkers to higher pensions, that is often accident rather than design. In political organization Stevenson believes that the Democratic Party must not become simply a labor party, and wise labor leaders will agree. But while the differences are real, and the distinctions proper, the bond between the liberals and the labor movement holds, and is vital for both groups.

Both have shared in power; both have seen their essential programs realized; both have remained in the minority; both have now suffered defeat. One source of the common weakness has been that labor has lost its vitality of the New Deal years. There is little remembrance of depression among labor's new recruits. There is little love for strike action. There is little enthusiasm for organizing the unorganized. The CIO has reached the saturation point in its mass-production unions. It has failed in its efforts to organize white-collar workers and the South. The AFL has grown steadily, but its growth is hardly reflected beyond its own ranks. One in four in our labor force is organized; and about one in 12 in the South. For trade-union members, organization has not meant the liberating educational experience foreseen by labor's pioneers.

The AFL took on broad responsibility in education and political action from 1908 to 1924. From then on it was allowed to drift. It was George Meany, as secretary-treasurer who rescued it from drift in the campaigns of 1948 and 1952. It was Meany who insisted on the AFL's endorsement and support of Stevenson this year.

In the same way, Reuther was led to the trade-union movement by the scope and intensity of his vision. He succeeded because he was a first-class fighter for better wages and working conditions, but he has never lost sight of labor's further responsibilities and goals.

For both men, the immediate concern is internal organization. Both men confront weaknesses and dead wood in their unions. Both men know that far better performance may be needed to meet the challenge of a Republican Congress and administration. Both are limited by commitments to work with the staffs they inherited. Reuther is plagued by opposition, Meany by lack of authority. Yet both are anxious to move ahead.

Ahead, both men assert, lies the goal of labor unity. Both men are free of the scars of 1935; both are known as advocates of unity. Eisenhower's election serves as a new incentive, and Reuther's election gives the CIO a strength in bargaining that AFL leaders will respect.

Unity will not suddenly join Baldanzi's and Rieve's textile, Lundberg's and Curran's maritime workers, the electrical unions led by Carey, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of the AFL. It will not halt the struggle for the aircraft industry between the machinists, the UAW and a dozen small unions. Raiding will continue as every large union reaches out for what it thinks it can get. In the CIO, however, unions have honored the decisions of Dr. George Taylor, the arbitrator picked by the CIO to resolve its jurisdictional struggles. And if some measure of Taylor's standing can carry over to a unified movement, two-thirds of the efforts of organizers will no longer be dedicated to undermining and outbidding other unions.

In terms of union organization, the pressure for unity comes principally from the CIO. In terms of political action, the need is equal. Our hostile labor laws were shaped in the 80th Congress where labor was divided and incoherent. Continued division can mean that the 83rd Congress will destroy the Wage-Hour laws and other New Deal measures by withholding funds for enforcement. If that should happen, Martin Durkin, the new Secretary of Labor, will be compelled to resign from Eisenhower's cabinet where Reuther and Meany feel he affords protection against the inexperience and greed of Eisenhower's business friends.

Labor unity is one measure in labor's defense. Beyond defense, united action looking toward next year's municipal elections in Chicago, Akron, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York—in all the great cities where AFL and CIO are strong—can be the first step in leading the Stevenson movement to power.

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CIO—"ROLL THE UNION ON"

IN THE ROCOCO ballroom of the Chelsea Hotel in Atlantic City, John Lewis went his way in 1940, and Philip Murray became President of the CIO. He maintained outward calm and unquestioned authority for 13 years. This year his benign portrait smiled down in silence as fearful and divided delegates met to choose his successor.

No man questioned Murray in his lifetime, and few spoke out against him. Without his commanding presence the divisions within the CIO, and its problems broke the surface. It listed six million members during World War II. An honest count at Atlantic City showed little more than four million members. More than one-half of this membership was concentrated in two unions, steel and auto; more than one-third in the United Automobile Workers alone. For many reasons these two unions were in conflict. The conflict deepened when, on Murray's death, the Steelworkers leadership passed to Murray's one-time secretary, David MacDonald. Reuther sees the trade union as the base of an ambitious social movement; MacDonald, as a business organization contracting for labor.

MacDonald's succession was a signal that Reuther could take Murray's place only after the hardest fight. The man picked to fight Reuther was Allan Haywood, the CIO's Director of Organization. Haywood, an amiable ex-miner, was thrust into the fight, lacking ambition, and conceding that he was out of his depth.

Behind Haywood stood the Steelworkers and also the "pork-choppers," the staff organizers, the regional directors to whom Haywood represented a concept of unionism and a job. Behind Haywood stood several small unions, moved by gratitude for Haywood's assistance, and fear of Reuther's ambitions and the organizing reach of the UAW. Joe Beirne brought the Communications Workers into the Haywood alliance. And Mike Quill gave it the benefit of histrionics in a night-long rally that jaundiced observers compared to the Republican windup on the night before election.

In contrast, Reuther brought to his candidacy, a brilliant record in organization, a clear vision of the CIO's future and a group of young and energetic supporters. His membership was larger than that of any two unions in the CIO; his contracts were outstanding in providing cost-of-living and productivity increases; his research, education and political-action departments were incomparably the best in the CIO. For every independent delegate who feared that Reuther would move on from organization to political action before the job of organizing had been completed, there were two who felt that Reuther's vitality alone could arrest the aging and erosion within the CIO.

Among these independent leaders, Jacob Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers assumed the role of peace maker but let it be known that he would support Reuther in a contested election. Jim Carey swung to Reuther the Electrical Workers, disregarding a background of jurisdictional disputes and placing his own position as CIO secretary-treasurer on the block. Emil Rieve, President of the Textile Workers, had developed an antipathy for Reuther, largely stemming from Reuther's friendship for his rival, George Baldanzi. But the Textile Workers came to Reuther's side. When they were joined by the Oil and Rubber unions, Reuther's election was assured. Haywood was prepared to withdraw, but the Steelworkers kept him in the race.

In the hotel rooms and lobbies, the real work of the convention took place. In the Chelsea's ballroom, delegates politiked through fraternal speeches, resolutions and staff reports.

On the morning of the last day of the convention the final agreement between the contending forces was made public. The executive vice-president was made a constitutional position and "under the supervision of the president" he would be director of organization and councils, directing the field staffs. It institutionalized Haywood and, at the same time, dispelled any fears that his staff would be ousted. In addition, more frequent meetings were required by the vice-presidents and the executive board to "counsel and advise with the president on policy matters."

Just how securely this will tie Reuther's hands in the reorganization of national CIO will have to await action and interpretation. Certainly he did not have to make such agreements; he felt that they were vital to a unified organization.

In the election Reuther won by 3,079,000 to Haywood's 2,600,000. There was no move for a unanimous vote, although Haywood was unanimously elected executive vice-president. At that, the old miner, with some 50 years in the labor movement, was choked with emotion. He said he would work hard as a member of the "team." Then, he could talk no longer. He found that he could better express himself in a song, a labor song. So, led by Haywood, the CIO broke out in song for the first time in many years. It was "Roll the Union On."

A battle-scarred veteran of countless years of organizing stood up and with eyes blinded by tears shouted: "That Haywood—he's an organization man all the way up and down."

Reuther had another way of expressing himself. He spoke for almost an hour. One cynic said he was "trying to educate the CIO in one night." But a group of delegates from the Glass Workers, who had supported Haywood and even booed the new president of CIO, were inspired by Reuther's eloquence. At the conclusion of his speech they rose and clapped and cheered. One of the delegates turned to another, shook his hand and said, "Well, maybe we didn't do too bad after all."

Atlantic City, N. J. HARRY CONN

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THE WEEK

NORTH AFRICAN DEBATE

The air-bases of French North Africa are the life-line to Greece and Turkey, last outposts in a line flanked by hostile Iraq and Iran. Tranquillity there is essential. Yet 1952 opened with riots in Tunisia and is closing with riots in Morocco.

The Moroccan riots coincide with a strike by the Moroccan General Labor Confederation and by the Tunisian Workers Movement; both strikes protest the brutal murder of Farhat Hached, labor leader. Riots, murder and strikes all coincide with the UN debate on French policy in North Africa.

French reaction to the murder has been to throw six Tunisian leaders into internment camps—a protective measure. Such has been the pattern of a policy epitomized by the arrest of Premier Mohammed Chenik and several Cabinet Ministers in March because they sent a delegation to the UN.

The result is that the UN has placed debate of French North African policy high on its list of urgent matters. France has boycotted the debate; Britain has denounced it, probably in the vain hope of easing the lot of Premier Antoine Pinay whose government is threatened this month. The hope is vain because the effort is misplaced. Britain, France, and with them the US, are hated in the Moslem world. Efforts which do nothing to alleviate that hate, which, indeed, exacerbate it, will in nowise ease the lot of a government, a nation, or a world. Pinay depends upon a coalition. Within it the French North African settlers are championed by the Radical Party, the Nationalists by the Socialist Party. Efforts to please both has led to procrastination, and a violent policy which has unified African and Arab opinion as never before. French settlers persist in harsh treatment for "ringleaders" yet Malaya and Indo-China are examples of what happens when nationalists are driven to extremist leaders.

By joining the UN debate, France could list its considerable accomplishments in North Africa: it could reiterate its promise of autonomy for those states; and, above all, it could outline a specific time-table by which that autonomy will be achieved. Such a course would demonstrate that people who feel unjustly treated need not seek champions outside the UN, nor go beyond the boundaries of debate to achieve their necessary condition of freedom and equality of opportunity.

THE DEMOCRATS REORGANIZE

The new titular leader of the Democratic Party and the party's new elder statesman have met and agreed upon policies for the immediate future. The Democrats say that they will be a "constructive opposition" and avoid obstructionist tactics. Exactly how active a part in the day-by-day management of party affairs Adlai Stevenson will play after his term as Governor expires has still to be determined. But he has asked Stephen Mitchell, the man he chose to serve as Democratic National Chairman during the campaign, to remain in that job, and Mitchell has announced that the party organization will now be strengthened "from top to bottom."

Before this reconstruction can get underway, there is the matter of the approximately $500,000 deficit remaining from the campaign. This sum is not unusually high, as campaign year deficits go, but as one party official put it, "It's different this year—we didn't win." The considerably larger deficit accumulated in the Truman 1948 campaign melted away almost immediately in the warmth of victory. Now it will probably be necessary to repeat the kind of drive for small donations conducted by Beardsley Ruml's committee this fall. Stevenson wants no special funds for appearances on radio or television raised until after the party's current debts are paid.

The 1952 campaign exposed the feeble condition of Democratic Party organization in state after state. Not since the regime of Jim Farley has there been adequate attention to the details of local political organization by national headquarters. With the succeeding years, the leadership of state and county committees has grown old and lazy, content to exercise its power of patronage and leave ward and precinct tasks undone. The result by 1952 was that AFL and CIO political-action committees and infant Volunteers-for-Stevenson groups proved stronger in many areas than the regular party organization.

Mitchell declares that he will now set himself to rebuilding the party structure. To supervise three other important functions of the Democratic National Committee, Clayton Fritchey, an able and energetic newspaperman who served in the Springfield headquarters during the Stevenson campaign and prior to that as a Truman assistant in the White House, has been named deputy chairman of the national committee. Fritchey's job is to make war on the Republicans after the manner of Charlie Michelson, who used to scan the field for weak spots in the GOP line and furnish the ammunition to members of Congress for attacks at the proper points. This function is currently described as the direction of "publicity, research and legislative liaison." To provide the research for the new team Fritchey has selected a young, former aide to Sen. Paul Douglas, who also served at Springfield in the Stevenson campaign, Philip Stern.

The effectiveness of the new management in the National Committee will depend in large extent on the acceptance of their leadership by the Democrats in Congress, for Congress is necessarily the center of power for the party in opposition. Charlie Michelson's job was made easy by the eagerness of early New Deal Senators for his wares. A large proportion of the Democrats now in the Senate and the House are Southerners who may decide to accept Sen. Dick Russell as de-facto party leader. Adlai Stevenson will have to fight to remain at the head of his party.

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THE UNFAIR TRADE LOBBY

BIG BUSINESS has spent a great deal of time, as well as millions of dollars in advertising, to tell the public that there is a need for higher ethics in government, that bureaucracy is a naughty word and that creeping Socialism could only be stopped in the nick of time on November 4. The untruths of many statements in the propaganda distributed by business and in its tax-free institutional advertisements are seldom challenged since the government has neither the authority nor the money to present the other side of the question in like manner. However, one government official—Commissioner Stephen J. Spingarn of the Federal Trade Commission—has found courage to strike back at big-business lobbies now attempting to influence decisions on two important anti-monopoly cases. Commissioner Spingarn challenges the ethics of business-inspired pressure exerted on members of the FTC who are acting as a quasi-judicial body while considering a suit against the Eastman Kodak Company and the ethics of a world-wide propaganda campaign by a New York advertising firm against the FTC's International Petroleum Cartel report.

When Congress set up the FTC, it provided that the commission, like a court, must decide each case on its merits after hearing evidence presented on both sides of the issue. Mr. Spingarn points out that "very few people would dream of trying to put the heat on a federal judge in order to get him to decide a case one way or another. But a great many people seem to think that such tactics are perfectly legitimate when quasi-judicial commissions are involved."

This is the basis for Commissioner Spingarn's attack on the Bureau of Education on Fair Trade, a registered lobby which represents all of the big retail interests in the country that favor "fair-trade" legislation. On November 14, the Bureau in its *Fair Trade Newsletter,* charged that the FTC is attempting to repeal the resale price maintenance law by indirection through bringing suit against the Eastman Kodak Company, and added:

> Tell your Representatives and Senators about this threat now. All manufacturers . . . have a stake in whether these government agency cases are pressed to what may be a very dangerous conclusion or dropped. You are urged to let your newly elected or re-elected Representatives and Senators know about this *now*—before the new Congress convenes. It is to be fervently hoped that the election results may stop indirect legislation by government agencies. You can start the ball rolling by taking action on this grave issue at once. . . .

This attempt to get Congressmen to pressure the FTC when hearings begin on the Eastman case January 26 is tantamount to prejudging an important test of the new McGuire Act that permits manufacturers to fix minimum retail prices on their products. The FTC contends that Eastman is restraining the fair trading of its products because it also owns retail stores in competition with independent retailers. Commissioner Spingarn invited the Bureau to intervene in the Eastman case and present its views before the Commission when the hearings begin but the Bureau declined. In a letter to the Bureau, Spingarn said:

> I can only interpret your news release, with its invitation for readers to write their Senators and Representatives, as an effort on your part to coerce me in the exercise of my official duties. . . . So far as I am concerned, efforts to determine legal questions by political pressure will have no effect.

Spingarn points out that the proper time for the lobby to take up its cudgels is after the Commission has made a decision (which, of course, can be reviewed by the courts) and then, if it is not satisfied with the outcome, the Bureau can appeal to Congress to have the Act amended.

Commissioner Spingarn cites as another example of a "flagrant violation of ethics" on the part of business a slick 32-page brochure attacking the FTC's staff report on the International Petroleum Cartel. The report, released last August, is the result of a two-year study of seven major oil companies. The Department of Justice has asked a special Federal Grand Jury to investigate the cartel. In mid-October, the advertising firm of Hill and Knowlton, Inc., which represents the California-Texas Oil Company, Ltd., and the Texas Company, both named in the cartel report, released its booklet entitled "As US Editors View the Oil Charges"—a clever job that quotes articles and editorials from newspapers and oil journals implying that the federal officials responsible for the report are disloyal Americans or boss-ridden bureaucrats. For example:

> The charges [against the oil cartel] were brought to light in a "secret" report of the FTC composed of Truman appointees. . . . Such political tricks . . . are elementary stuff in the Pendergast school where Senator Hennings and Truman got their early training. . . . " [The Houston *Post*, Sept. 2]
>
> . . . We all know how Alger Hiss was able to influence government policies in favor of Russia, so one is justified in wondering if there were any Communist-inclined officials in the FTC responsible for the "secret" international oil industry report . . . it might be well to play safe, and have the FBI investigate every man who participated in its preparation and writing. . . . [The *Oil Forum*, Sept., 1952]

According to the *National Petroleum News*, the Hill and Knowlton brochure has been sent to 8,000 "editors and molders of public opinion" in 67 foreign countries. The damage to the prestige of our government by such propaganda is immeasurable. Commissioner Spingarn, who plans to discuss the matter of propaganda campaigns with other members of government agencies, hopes to "nip in its incipiency such attempts to substitute political pressure for decisions of regulatory government agencies."

JEAN BEGEMAN

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INDONESIA—BOON AND BURDEN

If the French Government decided to give up the war in Indo-China, the effect would be bad not only on the Korean situation but also on the whole pattern of US military planning in the Far East. The Pentagon's worries about such a possible withdrawal are well known to Premier Antoine Pinay. He is aware they have grown in recent months in relation to events.

As a matter of fact, Pinay and the advisers on whom his policies depend know the US military anxieties so well that they regard them as one of the few good bargaining counters which the French Government possesses. Now that the threat of withdrawal or serious reduction of US economic help in Europe weakens the chances of survival of the Pinay Government, the threat of a French military retirement from the Viet-Nam becomes politically useful. It can be set against what many of Pinay's advisers consider the "excesses" of US political attitudes toward the Tunisian and Moroccan situations, the Saar, the German role in the Atlantic Community, the European Defense Community and NATO.

But what the Pentagon and the State Department do not seem to know is that the Pinay Government finds itself *politically* in the Indo-Chinese war in pretty much the position of the man who tried to ride a tiger. The government would like very much to dismount—to give up the war in some, indeed almost any, way. But it can't. Nor could any government which seems likely to succeed Pinay's. Thus, worry in the US about a French defeat in the Viet-Nam may be justified; basing any changes in US policy on the likelihood of French military withdrawal is not.

There is no doubt of course that the war is intensely unpopular with French public opinion as a whole. Though the Communist tag, "the dirty war," is seldom heard, most Frenchmen (and even more so, French women) are at least as fed up with the Indo-China fighting as Americans are with the Korean.

But there has been no increase recently in this unpopularity. And besides, the French Government neither represents nor reflects the views of the great mass of the French people. It speaks for minorities among which the Viet-Namese war—"the unrecognized sacrifice in the common cause of the defense of the free world"—has become a primary element in France's national role. Especially on the Right, the trend is toward a new internationalism of the kind foreseen in US policy under Eisenhower and Dulles—an internationalism geared first to the satisfaction of national, if not nationalist interests.

The Pinay Government, which is of the Right, is pro-Atlanticist *en principe* but it contains elements whose enthusiasm for US guidance is limited by a greater enthusiasm for French nationalist economic interests. It stands for those big industrialists and businessmen who, for example, see US support for North African nationalism as really serving US businessmen, with the talk of principles and ideals nothing more than a rhetorical smokescreen. While the bulk of the French people see no gain for them in Indo-China, these big financiers profit more from the war than they did by peacetime economic control. They are eager to keep the Americans out of North Africa and to prevent a US-German combination from dominating Europe's economic affairs.

Thus, both the French nationalists and big businessmen consider it wise to foster rather than remove US anxieties about a withdrawal in Indo-China. So long as a government of the Right exists in France, it will whine, wail and complain about the burden of Indo-China; it will not stop threatening withdrawal but the nature of its political backing will prevent it from carrying out the threat.

If the Pinay Government falls—and it may even before these words are printed—it will probably be replaced by another government of the Right. In the extremely unlikely case that a Left-Center government might—briefly—hold power, the combination probably would be of the Radical Socialists (who are of the moderate Right), the MRP—Popular Republicans (the equivalent of the Italian Vatican-influenced Christian Democrats) and the Socialists.

The Socialists would be in favor of withdrawing from the Viet-Nam. Many of the Radical Socialists would agree, particularly the groups led by Edouard Herriot and Edouard Daladier. But most of the Popular Republicans would not and could not agree. They are the party of Robert Schuman, hence of most of France's valuable contributions to European and Atlantic unity. They could not turn their backs on the kind of Europe-US co-operation that requires continuation of the Indo-Chinese war.

Nevertheless, there exists in pro-US sections of French public opinion a current comparable to the one which in the US favors putting the burden of the Korean fighting on the South Koreans, and perhaps also the Nationalist Chinese. This view is shared in some quarters in Indo-China (as the US view is shared in South Korea and Formosa).

The formula offered by these Viet-Namese is that France should build up the Viet-Namese army as rapidly as possible, grant complete independence, and back democratic reforms. Perhaps it is too late. Perhaps, paradoxically, the only quick solution is the global—the recognition of Indo-China as part of the dangerous nationalist uprising all over Asia, the Middle East and Africa. Europeans see in the Slansky trial the Kremlin's decision to count on this wave, especially in Moslem (anti-Jewish) countries.

French liberals are beginning to wonder whether, after all, Asia doesn't come first, but not in the MacArthur-Asia-Firster sense, nor in the Pentagon sense of yielding to French blackmail on Indo-China and consenting to colonialism in North Africa. What comes first is the need to break the links between French big business and colonialism, and between US big business and fanatical nationalism; and then to re-think a coherent approach to the whole problem from Siberia to South Africa.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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PHILIP MURRAY: THE NATURE OF LEADERSHIP

by Adlai Stevenson

IT IS HARD on occasions such as this to distinguish between the lasting darkness of loss and the passing darkness of its shadow.

Our lives take their meaning from their interlacing with other lives, and when one life is ended those into which it was woven are also carried into darkness. Neither you nor I, but only the hand of time, slow-moving, yet sure and steady, can lift that blanket of blackness. . . .

Phil Murray was more than the president of the CIO, more than a leader and spokesman for organized labor.

Those of you who worked with him knew him first and foremost as a trade unionist, a man of sagacity at the bargaining table, a militant leader in your times of stress, and a shrewd conciliator who could bring home the bacon.

Those of you, among the thousands who called him "friend," knew him as a beloved companion, a thoughtful adviser, a generous man with a boundless sense of humor and kindness. As time softens the first sadness of his death, I think we can better see Phil Murray in perspective, and describe him properly in terms that would have embarrassed this unassuming man in his lifetime.

In the truest sense of the words that we often abuse, Phil Murray's life was a success story. The world is better off because he lived in it. Without that fact as a basic ingredient, you cannot give validity to a success story. Too often, in judging what man is a success, we think in terms of the market place, and measure him a success who has moved into the big house on top of the hill. Too often we count him a success because he moved into the big house. But the test is rather "how and why." And Phil Murray's success in life cannot be measured in a probate court.

The inspiration in Mr. Murray's life, the lesson for the world, lies in the fact that a boy humbly born in another country could come to America, his knuckles blackened with the coal dust of the Scottish pits, hew out an illustrious career for himself in service to his fellow man, and die a man of simple tastes and modest means, but leave a legacy of material goods in the homes of millions of workers in these United States—not only material goods measured in wages, in pension benefits, and other gains for the workers he led, but the goods of the spirit. Millions of workers have a personal dignity their fathers never knew because Phil Murray and others like him helped these workers to stand on their own feet.

My acquaintance with Mr. Murray was not intimate and my contacts were few. Perhaps that qualifies me all the better to comment on what to me was his most conspicuous quality. Humbly born, after a stormy life of democratic leadership and great achievement he humbly died. Yet it has been too often true that the very humbleness, even the disadvantages, of a man's beginnings have led him to abuse authority subsequently attained. Rank and power expose humility to the rust of pride, and we know those who, in telling of their having "come up the hard way," acknowledge in the telling that they have lost the lesson of their experience.

Phil Murray's humility was deeper rooted. It did not change with the seasons of experience or the years of growth. He knew that in our system of things the conferring of authority on particular individuals is largely accidental, that its compliment is slight, and that the man who exercises it is no different from his fellow men or from what he was himself before he assumed the role of leadership.

It was often remarked, and to some it seemed strange, that the president of the CIO was moved easily to laughter and not infrequently to tears. Perhaps his greatness found its sustenance there, or at least its reflection—for it is emotions that link us closest with each other. So much of democratic leadership is just the understanding of the people's needs and hopes, the looking to them rather than to one's own ideas for guidance and for strength, the maintaining of a oneness between leadership and following.

No democratic organization can afford the risk of leadership which lacks humility. It is that element which gives men—which gave Philip Murray—the ability to lead a people who distrust the power to command.

His was not an easy career. The path of the man who chose a career in organized labor in Murray's youth was not strewn with NLRB orders directing an employer to bargain. Too often the life of the labor organizer was more akin to the career of an underground leader, in terms of frustration, even terror.

What motivated and sustained him in the long struggle? What was the guiding purpose that drove him on with a disregard for self that resulted finally in death? I suspect it was to bring dignity and meaning into lives

Governor Stevenson's address was delivered at the memorial meeting for Philip Murray held during the CIO Convention at Atlantic City, New Jersey, on December 3, 1952.

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which had lost these qualities. It was plainer to those in the coal mines of Pennsylvania in 1902 in his boyhood than it was to a good many people in America what a price we had paid, in human values, for the fruits of the industrial revolution. The coal dust and the sweat and smoke of factories had settled not only on men's faces and in women's kitchens but on their lives. Work had become, for millions, something much less—much meaner—than it had been when men were carving homes and farms out of forests and working as craftsmen in small shops. In too many minds the men and women beside the assembly lines became indistinguishable from the machines.

I know no purpose more sustaining than that of helping people live fuller lives. It gave to Philip Murray the guidance, probably the inspiration, which left for him hard questions of the immediate course to follow but none as to the direction. He must have had that vision of true horizons which gives assurance against beckoning mirages in the often lonely deserts of decision.

This, then, is our heritage from Philip Murray. It is no lesser for not being written in the words of great books or in the masonry of proud structures—for it is written rather in the lives of men and women and built into the meaning of democracy. It is the example of what leadership means in a system that finds it strength in its insistence that leaders be only servants.

To realize this heritage is to deny all but the personal elements of loss, of ending, in what has happened. There are those who are ready to accept, to carry on—and even to build upon—the example which has been left, the tradition which has been established.

Behind the grief of great loss there is the stimulus to assume the increased responsibility to go on. The whole lesson of history is its essential continuity. It is the fullest memorializing of those who have departed that those who remain feel no despair—for otherwise the task was not fully done.

The beliefs that Phil Murray brought into his career as a labor leader, belief in the right to organize and bargain collectively, belief in the family life of America, and belief that a strong trade union movement is of the essence of democracy, are today, thanks to men like him, the indisputable premises of daily life for most of us.

But the simplest rights, accepted as a matter of fact by younger workers today, were bitterly contested in the growth of the labor movement. We would honor him well not to take too much for granted those rights he devoted a restless life to securing, but to remember vividly that they were won the hard way. You, his constituents, have inherited a precious trust, which can be executed faithfully only by imitating his own devotion to God, his fellow man, and his country. I cannot presume to say that I know what Mr. Murray's view of the future was. But I do know that his life and work spanned a dramatic evolution in the status of labor and in our thinking about labor in this country. From the unspeakable conditions of 50 or 60 years ago he lived to see organized labor grow to its present vast power and influence in our economy and our society. And I suppose that this transition is as important a single fact as any in the past half century.

While there are inequities and injustices in our laws that still demand remedy, labor's long battle for status and recognition has been largely won. Violence and ruthlessness by employers and unions alike are obsolete. If it isn't, the doctrine that the end justifies the means should be a thing of the past in labor relations.

Labor has been afflicted with Communist infiltration and with hoodlums and racketeers. The battle for clean unions you have fought and will fight as long as necessary. But the bigger job of the future is the proper exercise of organized labor's vast responsibility, not just to the working man but to the country. Some of the attitudes, habits of thought and methods of the past are no longer relevant. How soon will the modern idea that big labor is here to stay, that your constituency is no longer just the union member but the nation, pervade the ranks of labor leadership?

What I would like to say about all this would take longer than you would care to listen. Call it in a word "public relations," if you please. Whatever it is, however each of you may look at it, consider how far you have come in the lifetime of Philip Murray and where you are going. You have elevated wages and working conditions, accomplished all manner of improvements. You dare not gamble with these advances. Now there is too much to lose.

Perhaps as the defeated candidate, whom you were good enough to support, I can be permitted to say that the election should not be considered a disaster or even a misfortune for labor. What would be a misfortune and perhaps even a disaster would be to think so, and lose sight of labor's larger responsibility to a nation which is also groping its way into a new era.

While it may be no surprise to you that I had certain preferences in the recent election, I like to think of myself as an American first and a political partisan second. And I think of you as Americans first and labor leaders second. Business has learned much, too, in these years of your great growth and has been improving its relations with labor and the public. And your largest task now, as I see it, is the conduct of your relations with industry, always in the larger framework of the national interest

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on which labor and business and all the rest of us are dependent.

I'll say nothing poetic about the twilight of the era of your great gains. Rather it is for us to make this interval of labor's transition from "far off things, and battles long ago" the dawn of a better era for all of us—for America.

I like to think that Phil Murray was familiar with these words: "A fool who stands fast is a catastrophe; a wise man who stands fast is a statesman."

It is, then, in a spirit of gratitude for what he did with his life and of gratitude for the opportunity that is the handmaiden of the power he helped bestow upon you, that we say to Philip Murray: "Hail and Farewell," and to Death, "be not proud."

WILL BOWLES REMAIN IN INDIA?

by Krishnalal Shridharani

To a great many politically conscious groups in India the Presidential contest became a question of Ambassador Chester Bowles' future in India where he has become a symbol of Point Four and of a new American approach to Asia—an approach which regards India as an equal partner in a common enterprise. No other Ambassador in our six-year history has become so psychologically significant in behalf of his nation.

It seems an impression has been created in the United States that India is "deeply disappointed" over the Eisenhower victory. That is not quite correct. Although Adlai Stevenson gradually emerged before the Indian eye as an able and eloquent administrator, General Eisenhower maintained his slight edge as an international hero of great magnetism. The undercurrent, therefore, was not of "disappointment" but of "doubt" as to whether India would continue to experience a sense of security concerning technical co-operation.

From the very beginning, from the battle for the Republican nomination, most Indians except Communists were enchanted by Eisenhower. But then came Governor Stevenson's enthusiastic endorsement of the Point Four program, his plea for its expansion, his underlining of India as deserving much larger aid. In sharp contrast was General Eisenhower's lukewarm response to a letter written by Richard J. Walsh, National Chairman of the India League of America. He was vague about aid to Asia in general and to India in particular. In Delhi a doubt began to form, vocalized by *Hindu*, the leading English-language daily of Madras, on November 6 (practically every newspaper in India expressed similar sentiments):

> Broadly speaking, it is likely that the Republicans will adopt a deflationary program comparable to Mr. Churchill's in Britain . . . but [Eisenhower] is a man of proved ability and courage and the American people will benefit from his qualities of leadership at a critical stage of world history.

In other words, Eisenhower is all right. But are the men who dominate his party all right? Will they appreciate India's key position in Asia, her policy of non-entanglement, her need for foreign aid? Will they continue Chester Bowles in New Delhi where he appears to Indians neither as Mr. Democrat nor as Mr. Republican, but as Mr. American. Such were the questions underlying the spontaneous editorials that inundated India on November 6.

In a post-election statement, General Eisenhower called for expansion of American aid to under-developed countries, implied that Asia will get top priority, and mentioned India prominently among key nations which could become bulwarks of world stability. Those words indeed brought warmth to India. But Eisenhower's victory was quickly followed by America's co-sponsorship of the Anglo-American resolution on Kashmir in the General Assembly of the UN and by a hasty rejection of the Indian-Korean prisoners-of-war resolutions, so well applauded in most quarters. Will the US shift from the Democrats to Republicans mark as sharp a change in attitude toward Asia as did the change in Britain from Labourites to Conservatives? Will the Eisenhower approach parallel the Churchillian Tory approach?

I have been told, not by one but by three responsible persons who have recently talked with Prime Minister Nehru, that the Indian leader harbors similar doubts and that the test for him would be the Eisenhower decision on Bowles. For the American Ambassador in Delhi is not only the formal representative of his country but also a thermometer registering the temperature of Indo-American relations.

Judging from press comments, John Foster Dulles will have to go out of his way to reassure an apprehensive India. He is one of the main architects of America's bipartisan foreign policy, and he cannot give a more convincing proof to Indians of the continuity of that venture than to keep Chester Bowles in Delhi.

It will be hard for India, and especially for Nehru, to forget the San Francisco Conference on the Japanese Peace Treaty where Dulles sought to overwhelm the Indian motion of dissent by ridicule and sarcasm. Whether justified or not, Nehru has a feeling that Delhi

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is more conversant than Washington with Asian affairs and he has jibed Dulles for having had time to tour half the world but no time to come to Delhi in search of a formula for the Japanese Peace Treaty. It is natural for India to look for tangible proof that Dulles as Secretary of State will be more understanding than he was at San Francisco. Bowles provides an opportunity.

How has Chester Bowles succeeded in acquiring such an enviable position in Indian affections? And why has he become the Communists' special target? The answer to both questions is his ability to befriend Indians. He has seen more of India than any other diplomat in Delhi; he has been to Nepal and to Southeast Asia, and he is planning a trip to the jungles of Assam where India, China and Burma meet. He has mixed with villagers in connection with the Community Projects. He has talked to students, even in Calcutta where they present a most difficult group because of Communist ring leaders, and come out triumphant in spite of heckling. What is more, he is on the friendliest and most informal terms with the capital journalists.

Dr. Henry F. Grady was also a very warm personality, but had no chance to become as influential as Bowles. Loy W. Henderson's tenure was characterized by the most icy climate. On the other hand, Bowles has not only broken the ice but won Nehru's confidence. Then again, Bowles works in close collaboration with men in charge of India's Five Year Plan—men who control India's future development not only in industrial and agricultural fields, but also in education and civic virtues. He can count among his intimate friends most members of the Nehru Cabinet.

But behind all this is the democratic simplicity of the Bowles family—a typical aspect of American life which Indians seldom see. All sorts of people are invited to Mrs. Bowles' tea parties, and both husband and wife attend all sorts of gatherings. One daughter attends Santiniketan, near Calcutta, founded by the late poet Rabindranath Tagore, while another attends a public school in Delhi, going back and forth on a bicycle and not in an Embassy limousine. Mrs. Bowles is always assisting public charitable causes and recently, at the "American Carnival" which attracted thousands of people and collected some Rs. 50,000 for charity institutions, she purchased tickets for each of her servants. This type of informality is looked down upon by the British colony which believes in standing on ceremony, and by the Russians who are among the most ardent protocolists. But what is important is that Indians appreciate it immensely, and the Bowles family has lost none of its zest for life and for public service despite the fact that Chester Bowles is at present a lame-duck Ambassador.

STALIN'S VISION—AN EMPIRE OF DISCORD

by Percy Winner

THE PRAGUE "TRIAL," if no uglier than the Moscow purge trials of the 30's, has more ominous overtones: Soviet strategy is to divide the non-Communist nations by bringing differences between them to crisis intensity. There is good reason to believe the Prague trials are intended to bring about the major rift that would develop if Arab nationalism and German neo-Nazism could be joined.

All the old charges were brought out again in Prague. But nothing that was said there was quite as disturbing as the echo of words spoken elsewhere, a decade ago, in a setting far removed from a Communist "public court of justice." The words were: "The Arab freedom movement is our natural ally." Adolf Hitler spoke them to his admirals in May 1941. They are recorded in Fuehrer Directive Number 30. And during the trial their echo came to the courtroom by way of Moscow.

It seemed that Joseph Stalin was repeating them now for the benefit of General Naguib and for the Arab League; for the new Nazi nationalism in Germany and among Hitler's associates who now move through the Middle East; and for General Franco, General Peron and all the neo-Nazi and neo-Fascist movements in Europe and Latin America, which have always been pro-German and which now are swinging toward anti-Americanism as they dream of a repetition of the Soviet-German Pact of August 1939.

It is a fact that Moscow's propaganda broadcasts to the Middle East treated the anti-Zionist aspects of the "evidence" at the trial in a far more inflammatory manner than the press dispatches to the Western world indicated. It is equally true that the material spread in both East and West Germany, openly and by planted rumors, was specifically Hitlerian.

Through the innovation of putting together, as equals in sin, crime and disgrace, men whose errors are as far apart as Titoism and Zdhanovism, President Gottwald killed off two groups, one headed by Slansky, the other by Clementis, so totally different in their crimes that they seemed to have in common only their threat to his personal power. The attitude of Clementis toward the Soviet-German Pact had never been forgiven. He and three other defendants were "national" Communists; they had had ties with the West, and they might have been

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suspected of Titoism. Slansky and nine others, on the other hand, were true Cominformists, slavish agents of the Kremlin, most of them with "cleaner" records than Gottwald. Their crime was not to hope for a deal with the West, but to stand for the tough policy of destroying the West by war. Yet Gottwald was able to bring them to trial together as comrades and fellows in crime, and by removing both the false and the too-true friends of Moscow, become the temporary master of Czechoslovakia.

Most of the defendants were Jews. At least they had been born Jews. There also will be Jews taking the road to the gallows in forthcoming trials, for example, Anna Pauker and her group in Rumania.

The prosecutor in Prague referred again and again to Zionism as the "worst enemy of the popular democracies" and the "tool of the American imperialists." But the anti-Semitism of which the whole trial reeked was less racial or religious than it was political. Jews—not many, it is true—remain in high office in the Soviet world: Kaganovitch in the Soviet Union, Berman in Poland, Chishinevski in Rumania, Rakosi, Geroe, Farkas and Revai in Hungary.

These are pogrom areas. But the new Communist political anti-Semitism is not merely and simply pogromist, if only because there are not enough Jews left behind the Iron Curtain to make it worth while. Between the end of the war and the end of 1951, there was a huge emigration to Israel. Out of 40,000 Jews in Bulgaria, 37,000 left; out of 45,000 in Czechoslovakia, 30,000; out of 200,000 in Poland, 106,000. Between 1948 and 1951, 117,000 left Rumania. And these figures do not include the Jewish emigrants to Western Europe, South and North America.

Nazism had turned large sections of the Jewish population toward Communism. The experience of Communism, and the attraction of the new Jewish State of Israel made most of the Jews yearn for something different. They took their talents away, their skills, energy and intelligence. This was true of men close to Communism too: Anna Pauker's father and brother emigrated.

The Kremlin opposed the emigration. It condemned, at the same time, the so-called Jewish "cosmopolitanism" as much as Titoist nationalism. Nevertheless there was little overt anti-Semitism until recently.

One of the reasons for its emergence at the Prague trial is the need not only for scapegoats but also for a myth that may be psychologically valid to explain economic difficulties within Czechoslovakia. Slansky and his group, Moscow's men, are hated in the country for having carried out between 1948 and 1951 Moscow's orders for cruel industrial and agricultural exploitation. Also needed is an explanation of the failure of Czechoslovakia to supply the Soviet Union with steel and engineering supplies.

The solution is that Slansky is responsible *as* a Jew, hence that *the* Jews are responsible. Moreover, the Czechoslovakia which for reasons of culture, history, geography and social advancement was closest to the West must be smashed by the backward Czechoslovakia of the Hlinka Guards—true pogromists.

The small Jewish communities in Czechoslovakia and the other satellite countries are close to panic, as the rise in the number of suicides tragically shows, because the press and radio are blaming the Jews not only for economic difficulties and discontent, but also of responsibility for "the danger of war."

And this phrase is one of the keys to the new "line"—the various kinds of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism, geared separately to publics in the satellite countries, to the German and pro-German countries, and to the Moslem countries.

The Kremlin is afraid of war, and the peoples of the Soviet Union are even more afraid. Stalin's article in *Bolshevik*, which dates from February but was made public six months later, reflects a change in the balance of forces within the highest Soviet bureaucracy. So does the strong emphasis on the "popular front for peace." Both point clearly toward co-existence, toward the long pull, with every possible effort to avoid trouble or "incidents" that might force a showdown.

Before the Prague trial produced the mockery of linking Slansky and Clementis as equally and similarly guilty, Moscow had begun similar mockeries in the West, at the risk of weakening or even wrecking the Communist organizations in such countries as France and Italy. It is almost certain now that in addition to more trials in the satellite countries, there will be further purges in the West and perhaps in the Soviet Union too.

"Perhaps," says Claude Bourdet in *l'Observateur*, which serves the fellow-travellers, "the Kremlin is washing its hands of the fate of the Western Communists and counting exclusively on the rivalry of the capitalisms"—on Churchill against Pinay against Eisenhower.

Here, the remarkable fact to be noted is that the Communists, previously considered Moscow's chosen instruments in the West, are also the targets of attack. Indeed, not the Titoists but the Zdhanovites, the "tough" men, "the leftists of the Left," who between 1947 and 1950 believed in the inevitability of a military test of strength between East and West, are to be liquidated along with the "agents of American capitalism"—a repetition of the Prague pattern. Both flirting with the West and provocation of the West are condemned.

For a new phase in co-existence with the West is be-

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ginning. It entails isolating and strengthening the satellites in such a manner as to prepare for the long pull. It means breaking off all ties with the West that may cause trouble or "incidents"—abandoning the tough and faithful Communists and leaving the field to holding parties of maneuverers on behalf of the "common peace front," led by men like Pietro Nenni of Italy.

And above all, it means forging new links with the huge area of revolutionary possibility that extends from south of Siberia, down through China, across Southern Asia, the Middle East, North Africa and down through Kenya to the Malan-land of South Africa.

Bourdet is right in saying that Moscow is counting on the rivalry of the capitalisms, but he does not go far enough: he does not suggest how the rivalry is to be egged on and embittered. Stalin has come up with a new version of Lenin's classic formula of using the colonies—political and economic—of the imperialisms as weapons against the capitalist world.

Anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism are of primary importance because the Moslem regions make up the heartland of this new empire of discord. There, better than elsewhere, can weapons be forged to weaken the US and the Atlantic Community. And if their disintegrating action is to succeed, these lands must have skills and techniques for political, economic and military organization other than those under Point Four and similarly US-run or conditioned schemes.

There is only one place to get them—Germany. And from Germany, they have already been going out to Iran, Egypt and other Moslem countries. One hears in the US of the successful carpet-bagging of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, but not of the hundreds of smaller—but not less important—men in the tradition of the old German Army which always favored an *entente* with Russia.

In Moslem Egypt, Naguib was helped to power, especially during the planning of his coup, by German officers and tacticians, but even now little is known concerning the actual size and the scope of activity of the German Military Mission in Egypt. Recently, in fact, some journalists were detained for showing too much interest in its work. The head of the mission is Dr. Voss, one-time head of the Hermann Goering Works in Czechoslovakia. His deputy is a former SS officer, Tiefenbacher.

The mission maintains close contact with German commercial interests which are making a strong effort to recover their country's pre-war position in the Egyptian market. The Junker industrialists dreamed of trade with the Near and Middle East on a scale that would help them displace the British. Today Hitler's one-time associates work to make that dream conditional on the restoration of their influence in Western Germany.

Nationalism, militarism, anti-Semitism and hatred of Britain and America are emerging again in West Germany. Adenauer and his supporters—indeed all Western-minded and democratic Germans—are vulnerable to charges that they are pacifists, weaklings, friends of the Jews, traitors to the eternal Deutschtum.

These charges culminated in denunciations of the agreement whereby the Bonn Government undertook to supply the Government of Israel, over a period of a dozen years, with some $715 million worth of non-military goods as a symbol of moral retribution and repentance for crimes committed against millions of Jews.

Naguib's new Arab League, spurred on by the Nazis in his army and among his political advisers, demanded that the agreement be cancelled at once. In addition, it sent a mission to West Germany. Most of the members were rather odd diplomats: they were in fact specialists in strong-arm methods of subversion and sabotage. They created a species of anti-democratic and anti-Adenauer underground, printing scurrilous propaganda and openly using personal threats of various kinds of blackmail.

They came to Germany to get payment of the debt of Hitler to the Mufti (who is very much alive now) and to announce the imminent return from exile of the "true"—nationalist, anti-Semite—Germans. If the "traitors"—the Adenauers—refused to pay, trade with the Middle East would be off.

Prague is the first move to exploit this new empire of discord.

So, in the long pull, except for Germany, and for Spain, Europe is temporarily written off in the new Muscovite version of co-existence. Stalin hopes that President Eisenhower will win over the French to the European Defense Community, but at the price of giving the French a free hand in Moslem Tunisia and Morocco. He dreams of Germany as the arsenal of the enemies (in the world of Islam and of all the colored peoples) of Western democracy, hence the friends of the Soviet Union (though not necessarily of Communism.) Later on, perhaps, in the long pull, Germany will have the role of a "political Korea"—of a bleeding operation. And then, finally, unless the West recognizes in time that the heart of the problem has shifted from Western Europe, and also from the China coast to a terribly long frontier that is not merely geographical, the new phase of co-existence will end.

To face the problem that begins to show itself in the anti-Semitism of the Prague trial by a new US-Western pattern of military strategy, or even by an economic strategy that leaves untouched religious and racial fanaticism, is like trying to solve the problem of the Mau-Maus in Kenya by using atomic bombs.

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SCHOOL DOORS SWING OPEN

by Theodore C. Sorensen

THE SUPREME COURT during its present session has the opportunity to strike its mightiest blow against racial prejudice. The nine justices must decide whether segregation of Negro and white pupils in the public schools violates the equal protection provision of the Fourteenth Amendment. This week the Court is hearing five cases which will decide the constitutionality of the "separate but equal" doctrine as it has been practiced in two public schools in Delaware, a South Carolina school district, a high school in Virginia, an elementary school in Topeka, Kans., and a high school in the nation's capital.

The justices will have the rebel yells of Southern Governors such as Byrnes of South Carolina and Talmadge of Georgia ringing in their ears as they listen to the oral arguments. These prophets of doom are not unlike those who predicted "race trouble" in Alton and East St. Louis, Ill., when those communities were desegregated in 1950 under an old law re-enforced by Gov. Adlai Stevenson. But the record shows that both communities integrated their schools with a minimum of difficulty after almost a century of segregation.

Lawyers arguing the *Clarendon County*, S. C., case before the Supreme Court need not search for isolated examples of Southern public-school desegregation. During the past several years, one or more public-educational institutions in practically every Southern, Southwestern and border state has opened its doors to either a limited or unspecified number of Negroes, who had previously been banned altogether.

Public schools have been successfully integrated in recent years in one or more communities in California, Arizona, New Mexico, Kansas, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Delaware, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. As the result of President Truman's pocket veto of HR 5411, with its "state law prevails" amendment by Rep. Graham A. Barden (D, N. C.), public schools supported entirely by federal funds will continue on an integrated basis in the heart of the South, at Fort Bragg, N. C., Quantico, Va., Fort Knox and Camp Lejeune, N. C., and other Southern military reservations.

Tax-supported colleges and universities have admitted Negro students in Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, Kansas and North Carolina. Examples of integration in private and parochial schools abound.

All of these states formerly had rigid segregation policies in the communities now integrated. Most of them still have statutes on the books requiring segregation in education. But recent Supreme Court and lower federal court decisions, the President's directive against segregation on federal installations, and (in the Southern communities of the border states mentioned) new state statutes or constitutional provisions forced action.

According to authoritative estimates, well over 10 percent of the Negro children attending public schools in the South, and nearly 20 percent of those attending Southern colleges, do so on a non-segregated basis this fall. The first Negro to attend the University of Maryland in 1935 can this year see his experience duplicated several thousand times in colleges throughout the South.

Such integration is only a small beginning, and has met some difficulty and bigotry. But in every instance, persistent enforcement of announced policy eventually overcame or is overcoming hostile resistance. Disorderly incidents have been few, brief and successfully terminated. Unfortunately much of the press considers the many "incidents" of successful interracial achievement less newsworthy than mere rumors of trouble.

But the lower court majority in the *Clarendon County* case was dubious of the possibilities of such success. A colorless opinion by Judges John J. Parker and George B. Timmerman, to which Judge J. Waties Waring filed a bitter dissent, stated that "however desirable such policies might be in the opinion of some sociologists or educators," the court "must not go contrary to what . . . [parents] deem for the best interests of their children."

Apparently all Southern parents do not look upon this "family" problem in the same light as Judges Parker and Timmerman. At Fort Bragg, only one parent complained when 1,175 white students were integrated with Negro students (including 24 white children under a Negro teacher.) The Southern-born principal advised the parents threatening to withdraw their child to do nothing which would make their daughter feel ashamed of them when she grew up. The child remained in school, and no more was heard from the parents.

When segregated schools were abolished in New Jersey, scarcely any parents protested. In the intellectually elite Princeton community, the few children withdrawn when a Negro teacher was installed generally returned.

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Elsewhere, as in the Tucson public schools and the University of Texas, advance parental protests had no appreciable effect when new policies were carried out.

In Gary, Ind., the well-publicized strike against public-school desegregation was ended by parents voting to send their children back to school in response to the urgings of public officials, local clergy and the CIO Steelworkers Union. Even in Cairo, Ill., scene of a most shameful show of bigoted violence, white and Negro parents will send their children to the same school this year as evidence of their stand against intolerance.

Nor would the students and faculty of integrated schools and universities agree with Governor Byrnes' statement that only "selfish politicians and misguided agitators" favor admitting Negro students to all-white educational institutions. Student strikes—which usually originated with "misguided agitators" of a different stripe—have been in the great minority.

At the Carlsbad, N. Mex., high school, the 1951 graduating class, senior council, faculty and student body voted practically unanimously to welcome Negro students after years of a segregated system.

In most Southern universities, Negro students study and make friends with white classmates without special notice. "The sky did not fall," observed a University of Kentucky professor. After 10 years of graduate- and professional-school integration at the University of West Virginia, 97 percent of the faculty in 1950 thought every university in the South should adopt the same policy.

At the University of Arkansas, several hundred Negroes have enrolled for graduate work in various departments. Many white students help their classmates who had suffered scholastically from a segregated education.

Integration of nearly 300 Negroes at the University of Louisville—termed a "magnificent success" by its President—was accomplished with full student and faculty support. The integrated school at Fort Bragg operates without fanfare over the precedent it sets. Pupil and teacher relations are the best. Some teachers, prepared for integration, were disappointed if no Negro children were in their classes. What could better illustrate Justice Frankfurter's statement in the *McCollum* case that our public schools are "designed to serve as perhaps the most powerful agency for promoting cohesion among a heterogeneous democratic people."

Space does not permit the full listing of all public schools and universities successfully integrated in recent years, in whole or in part. But it is a roll call which refutes word for word the specious arguments of the Byrneses and their lawyers, who say they want to protect "innocent Negro children." Legally enforced orders ending educational segregation have not resulted in widespread violence. The public schools have not been destroyed by withdrawal of parental support.

In this background, it will surely stretch the credulity of the Supreme Court to assert that the "police power" requires the 808 Negro children of Clarendon County, S. C., to attend separate, and presently archaic, schools.

On the contrary, as an enlightened federal court stated in 1946, it is *segregation* that "fosters antagonisms in the children and suggests inferiority among them where none exists." It is segregation that "establishes an unfair and arbitrary class distinction in a system of public education." It thus makes impossible the standards of equal education pronounced by the high court in the *Sweatt* and *McLaurin* cases.

This fall marks the first year when many schools opened on an integrated basis. Local advocates of desegregation should neither relax feeling their battle won, nor tell authorities that such changes are inevitably easy. To do so would endanger their fragile prize.

Look, for example, at Alamagordo, N. Mex. Negro and white children are being integrated this fall for the first time; and the first regular Negro teacher in the state is at work. To follow the successful experiences of other Southern schools, administrators must prepare their faculty and students for the change. Conferences can be held as school opens. Policies to be adhered to regardless of protests must be determined.

There may, of course, be tense moments. In New Jersey, a "Northern" state, the simultaneous and complete desegregation of schools in over two dozen "Southern atmosphere" communities with large Negro populations was no easy task. But resolute leadership and careful planning set an example for the world to see.

Furthermore, successful integration should not be expected to be an immediate panacea to the ills of a dual system. Geographical segregation of Negroes in the community may retard extensive integration. Prejudice against Negro students will not automatically vanish either within or without school walls. Some Negro teachers may lose their jobs. Some Negro students will fall behind as the result of "separate but unequal" education. And some Negro and white students will suffer emotional shocks from hostile situations.

But if Alamagordo holds fast throughout this transition to the basic principles of the public school, another victory for democratic education will be won. These many schools and colleges demonstrate to the Supreme Court and the nation that there is no need to wait another 100 years to desegregate successfully and peacefully throughout the South. As a representative of the New Jersey Department of Education said: "The best way to integrate is to do it."

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

GIDE'S MORAL MESSAGE

by Joseph Frank

THE OPPOSING (and imposing) literary worlds of Paul Claudel and André Gide have already taken their place among the majestic confrontations of French literature; and in the letters exchanged between the two over a period of 25 years, the essence of their symbolic encounter has been movingly distilled. The publication of these letters in an excellent English translation is indeed a welcome event, and not only for those with a special interest in Gide or Claudel. Beyond the individual involvement of these two writers lie the great principles they each represent: untrammeled liberty of conscience and action on the one side; the allegiance, on the other, to a fixed system of values transcending man and his frailties. Gide and Claudel, as they well knew, were re-enacting in their own terms the crucial drama of the modern spirit. And not the least value of their book, in an age of easy abstractions, is to restore our sense of how agonizingly complex any dénouement of this drama necessarily has to be.

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PAUL CLAUDEL AND ANDRE GIDE. (Pantheon; $4).

MADELEINE, *Et munc manet in te*, by André Gide (Knopf; $3).

In temperament, character and opinions, two more disparate figures could hardly be imagined. Claudel was tempestuous, explosive, passionate, overpoweringly self-assured, lacking in tact and subtlety, but not without a genuine humility before the splendor of the Truth committed to his care. Gide was evasive, introverted, complex, a master of nuance and innuendo, beset by conflicting desires that he could neither master nor reconcile. For Claudel, the dogmas of the Church were the only fixed anchors in the surging sea of modern chaos. "The Inquisitor"—he writes superbly, of *The Brothers Karamazov*—"is absolutely right to oppose the false Christ whose ignorance and hubristic intervention disturb the magnificent order of Redemption. . . . He who does not act as a member of the Church can only act in his own name; he is a pseudo-Christ and a *wastrel*." Unfortunately, we do not know how (if at all) Gide responded to these assertions, since a good many of his letters, along with Claudel's files, were destroyed in the Tokyo earthquake of 1923. But in a letter written about this time to a mutual friend, and referring to Claudel's efforts to convert him, Gide remarks:

> I understand with every fibre of my being both the *interest* of what Claudel . . . wanted me to do, and the reasons why I wasn't going to do it. And I understood how, if I had done it, it could only have been after the fashion of my Prodigal Son who returned home in order to help his younger brother run away.

The allusion in the last sentence is to Gide's little parable, *Le Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue*, which beautifully expresses the burden of his moral message. Gide's rôle in modern culture has been pre-eminently that of a spokesman for suppressed longings and hidden desires; an inciter to rebellion against narrow conventions and stifling restraints; a leader in the fight to transvaluate age-old moral values in the search for a more flexible and multifarious conception of humanity. Where Claudel advocates a morality of strict obligation to the tenets of the Church, and to a society whose values are at least partially based on these tenets, Gide's only obligation is to the infinite possibilities of his truest self —but of course in the name of all those who will one day be free because he refused to remain enslaved. To regard Gide's morality as "egoism" is to overlook the fact that all freedom must finally appeal to the inalienable right of the individual conscience. Nor should one forget that Claudel's morality of social obligation can be used, and often has been used, as an excuse for terror and injustice. Yet it is equally impossible to forget that Gide's morality of unrestrained individualism has its own more alluring dangers, and that it would be folly to exchange one absolutism for another.

These dangers are revealed with poignant clarity in the most dramatic moment of the Gide-Claudel correspondence: the exchange of letters over Gide's homosexuality. Gide admitted, in answer to Claudel's direct question, that "I have never felt any desire in the presence of a woman"; but in asking Claudel to keep this avowal secret, Gide added: "I love my wife more than life itself, and I could not forgive any word or action on your part which might endanger her happiness." To which Claudel rightly replied: "You ask me to keep your letter secret. . . . And at the same time you make public, you display on every wall in Paris, a passage which everybody will interpret as a definitive and official confession." (The reference is to a passage in *Les Caves du Vatican*, then in course of publication.)

Claudel is quite justified in pointing out that, if any injury is done Madame Gide, the fault lies not in the gossip of Gide's friends but with his own deliberate actions. And here is where Gide's morality of individualism, his duty to himself and his moral message, reveals its own blindness and inhumanity. Gide has no obligation to restrain or discipline himself on behalf of others; nor, despite his protestations, did ever do so in a moral crisis. This is a brutal and ineluctable fact that he desperately avoided having to face, and never more so than when the question of his wife came to the fore. His much-vaunted sincerity is all too often a substitute for even a momentary self-sacrifice — as we can now clearly see from *Et nunc manet in te*, a small book published after Gide's death (translated now under the title *Madeleine)* which, in addition to suppressed passages from the *Journal*, includes a long, prefatory essay by Gide on his

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wife. It is hard to believe that André Gide could ever write a thoroughly distasteful book; yet the unctuousness of the language, combined with the calculated cruelty of the events it describes, succeed in creating this effect.

Gide's morality, then, provides no social sanction of any kind; nor is it limited, like earlier religious appeals to individual conscience, by a prescribed framework of traditional moral imperatives. Like the idea of total freedom, its content is purely negative; and the modern world has learned to its cost that man cannot live by negation alone, however valuable negation may be in destroying invested error and time-honored prejudice. I agree with Gide that it is impossible to follow Claudel back into the arms of the Catholic Church; but it would be equally disastrous to believe that the way forward is to follow Gide—an ineffably seductive Pied Piper—into the futile wastes of moral anarchy.

AN ESSENTIAL LINCOLN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, by Benjamin P. Thomas (Knopf; $5.75).

THE MOST CONSPICUOUS merit of Benjamin P. Thomas' one-volume life of Lincoln is its credibility. Here is a Lincoln in whom it is possible to believe. It is is a temptation to go a step further and say, here is a Lincoln in whom it is impossible not to believe. But that theory is murdered by the brutal fact that there are many among the older generation who will not believe.

A fixed idea is invulnerable to documentary evidence, and the circumstances of his life and death long ago fixed in millions of minds the idea that Abraham Lincoln was a phenomenon unique in human annals, not to be fitted in any of the categories of men. So mythology has flourished; men have been willing to believe almost anything about Lincoln except that he was an American politician, remarkably like Jim Farley and Herbert Brownell. The plaster saint, the holy martyr, the *eidolon* of democracy, the baboon—any of these was more acceptable than the real Lincoln. A ham actor made him a demigod— probably the only incident of the kind in theogony. If John Wilkes Booth had not killed Lincoln at the apex of his career we may be sure that hyena politics would have made the creation of mythology impossible. Detraction would have worked upon him as it did upon Washington, Jefferson and Wilson to hold him to the stature of a man.

Mr. Thomas is no mystic. He is aware of the value of an epic, but he is convinced that a man of heroic stature is worth more to a nation than any demigod; for the most powerful man can be imitated, at least in theory, but who can rival Hercules? His effort, accordingly, has been to present Lincoln as Herculean only by comparison with you and me; and to that end he has emphasized his likeness to you and me.

Do not fall into the error of assuming that this means that he is a debunker. He is precisely the opposite, for his theory is correct. For a fallible, ignorant, not too honest human being to do what Lincoln did is more wonderful than for the same work to have been accomplished by an Olympian. The Civil War President was all the greater because his weakness has been carefully described.

Mr. Thomas — technically a learned doctor, holding a Ph.D. from the Johns Hopkins — was perhaps uniquely equipped for the task he undertook. Except for three years' teaching, his adult life has been spent as the executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield, Illinois, which means that he has spent twenty years studying Lincoln through every working day. He probably knows more about the man than any other human being, not excepting Carl Sandburg.

But he had more than inf
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yet been produced, and one of the most charming. Of course it is no substitute for Sandburg's six volumes, but it is a substitute for Charnwood's one because it includes much material discovered since Lord Charnwood wrote. For the reader—and his name is legion — who feels that he simply hasn't time to read a multi-volume life of any creature, this book is a godsend, for it will enable him to talk sensibly even with an avid student of Sandburg. But it is equally valuable as a starting-point for a young man who hopes to make a profound study of Lincoln.

Since the bibliographies list of 4,000 books and pamphlets on Lincoln, a summary as compact, as accurate, and as beautifully done as this one is a service of no small value to the reading public. It should be received with delight and acclaim. GERALD W. JOHNSON

THE POET OF ACTION

COLLECTED POEMS, by Archibald MacLeish (Houghton Mifflin; $4).

SO MUCH has been written about the Protean nature of Archibald MacLeish, that his *Collected Poems*, which covers some thirty-five years of creative activity, is a welcome reservoir by which to gauge the density of his distillation or the evanescence of his evaporation. Every vacillation of his political or aesthetic judgment has been mercilessly traced by Morton D. Zabel in a series of two articles which first appeared in the *Partisan Review* early in 1941. MacLeish has often tread on what Yeats has termed the Path of the Chameleon, whether as athlete, lawyer, scholar, lecturer, polemicist, or editor; whether as Captain of Artillery, editor of *Fortune*, Librarian of Congress, Secretary of State, or Boylston
ward. Seen from another
trifarious activi-

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as well as the successes which any determined mode of action entails, to accept the possibility of crudity and sentimentalization of judgment as well as the successes of noble leadership. It was of such a man that Milton wrote in his *Areopagitica:* "I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat."

I am not here concerned to judge MacLeish in the field of action, but to ask in what way his adjustments have tempered his poetry; the question thus becomes not one of moral or political appraisal, but of aesthetic determination: how well does he write, no matter what his vacillations? MacLeish rarely makes a statement which a man of sensitivity or of liberal opinions may not accept as value, even though the statement may be one of error. Fullness of freedom and truth of expression have always been his goals, no matter how much his conscience may have led him to inveigh against those whom he has called the "irresponsibles" of modern literature; no matter how often he may have changed his views in regard to war or the poet's participation in social ordering. The fact remains that MacLeish is primarily a poet, a man of passion and compassion, a craftsman of integrity. What may appear as vacillation in opinion or action becomes, in poetry, the artful expression of a man's passionate moods and thus, if the craft and insight are sufficient, expressive of mankind's own passionately held though momentary opinions, and even though one mood may contradict the other. Contradiction in statement from poem to poem does not invalidate the artful utterance of each poem, even the
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new play included in this collection, *The Trojan Horse*, a warning against the careless admission into our own city of the enemy cunningly camouflaged.

On the whole, *Collected Poems* confirms the widely-held opinion that MacLeish is best in the lyric, especially in the elegy, the love poem, or poems on man's relations to the mysteriousness of the universe: in all of these forms he has given us undoubted masterpieces. From early youth he has been obsessed by the puny figure of man against the immensities and abysses of the universe about him. The key word has been "nothingness," as in *The End of the World*, with its concluding couplet: "There in the sudden blackness the black pall—Of nothing, nothing, nothing—nothing at all." His classic statements of this theme have been made in *You, Andrew Marvell* and in *Einstein*. Among his memorable elegies may be mentioned *Epistle To Be Left in the Earth, Immortal Autumn, Memorial Rain, Lines for an Interment.* And he has surely written some of the best (and rare) love poems of our time in *Unfinished History, Pole Star for This Year*, and particularly in the group of poems entitled *Woman on the Stair*, which bears comparison with George Meredith's *Modern Love.* His long poems, when not plays, are failures, but for *Einstein*, and that magnificent exercise in Elizabethan rant and rhetoric, *The Hamlet of A. MacLeish. Conquistador* is successful in certain sections only, and on the whole emphasizes certain aspects of his style which are evocative in the lyrics but enervating and debilitating in the longer poems: a monotony of sprung rhythm, an over-repetition of conjunctive and preposi-
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HIGHER CITIZENSHIP

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MAN, by Frederick L. Schuman; (Knopf; $5).

AT THE MID-POINT of a violent and desperate century, our generation begins to show signs of trying to think its way through its problems instead of shooting its way out of them. The voices are few but they increase in number. The first impact of the atomic bomb favored the apocalyptic, rather than the patient search. While politicians scared us into stockpiling and journalists scared us into space ships, the "world government movement" screamed that we must federate or perish. Now our scholars, recognizing that stockpiles and space ships cannot solve the problem of international anarchy, are beginning to take inventory of available resources, both material and spiritual, which might enable us to federate.

The Commonwealth of Man is such an inventory, and it is taken with great competence. Professor Schuman was peculiarly fitted for inventory by an extraordinary eye for the relevant, whether in a scholarly treatise or a newspaper and by a stiff knee when confronted with the idols of the tribe. This has made him one of the foremost reporter-scholars of our time. His latest book is highly readable, but his documentation is brilliant.

His inventory includes a picture of the present power struggle in a decaying system of nation states; mankind's previous experience in building Great Societies out of sovereign states; the reasons for doubting that the present American Alliance can achieve such a structure; the reasons for doubting that the present Marxist Imperium can; the doubtful attempts of each to subvert the other internally; the difficulties in the path of achieving greater world unity by economic planning and other non-constitutional means; the pitfall of collective security and of making war to enforce peace, as in Korea today; and finally the chances of "Peace by Con-

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inventory of an inventory normally is dry. Schuman's own inventory has no dry pages. His book is no world-government tract. That a common government is man's best chance of a decent life, and quite possibly his only hope of escaping a ghastly relapse into barbarism, is a conclusion towards which Schuman's analysis necessarily drives a thoughtful reader, simply by process of elimination after a weighing of the facts of our times. I find it reassuring that urgent pleas for world government—or against world government—are yielding ground to appraisals of where we are and what the problems are that lie, so often unnoted, in our laps. God knows, we may refuse to recognize them. God knows, as Schuman makes painfully clear, part of each of us wants to relapse into barbarism anyhow; and the opportunities to do so have never been so magnificent in modern times. We may seize them.

But I see no likelihood of our inventing the common institutions which our new world demands unless our longing for peace is supplemented by some cool analysis of the world we inhabit and the human experience we can hope to draw on. It is a painful process; many forces drive us toward world war three; it may be too late for reason to achieve where violence will most certainly fail. But it may also be earlier than we think—just early enough to do the thinking that most of us so long to avoid.

Schuman's book will help us to get started. STRINGFELLOW BARR

BY WORKS OR GRACE?

JUDAISM AND MODERN MAN, by Will Herberg (Farrar, Straus and Young; $4).

THIS BOOK is based on a psycho-theological concept of the nature of man and the origin of sin developed by Kierkegaard and elaborated some years ago by Reinhold Niebuhr (*The Nature and Destiny of Man*). According to this concept, man cannot be defined simply in terms of nature (process) or in terms of reason, mind or spirit (form). He is a unity of both: at once a finite creature involved in all the contingencies of nature and a spirit transcending nature, himself and his reason, whose final meaning can be grasped only in terms of this transcendence, or, as Kierkegaard put it, in relation to the "Power that posited him": God.

In this light sin is seen to arise not from one or the other side of his nature—the Bible knows no such distinction as a good mind and an evil body—but from the contradictory relation between them, a relation which breeds *anxiety*. Between his self-transcendence and his finiteness he is never sure whether the possibilities open to him by reason of his freedom can be fully realized by reason of his dependence. In his anxiety he is tempted to forget his limitations, exaggerate his freedom. He tends to raise his limited will to absolute will, to invest his limited perspectives, insights and truths with absolute authority and absolute truth. Anxiety betrays him into spiritual and physical pride alike. Sin is thus the absolutization of the partial and ephemeral.

Reflecting this dualism, all man's activities and creations, stamped as they are with finiteness, are necessarily incomplete or imperfect; on the other hand, touched with his self-transcendence, they intimate or point toward completeness or perfection. They may thus be said to have an "imperfect-perfect" or *relative* meaning. To have an absolute or perfect meaning, one would have to presume that they can break out of the circle of "finite-infinity" in which man is bound, a presumption as roundly impossible as it is sinful.

But so constituted is man, so strong the transcendent pull of his being, that he cannot rest content with these ambiguous or relative meanings of history and is always in search of some final meaning. There *is* a final meaning, declares Herberg, but it "is not within life and history but beyond it." God is the final truth, but man in his pride, in his pretensions to self-sufficiency, instead of turning to Him, seizes on this or that earthly pursuit or goal—a relative!—and makes an absolute of that. He takes lesser gods for the one and only God.

The conclusion is inescapable. Only as man abandons his false absolutes, ventures the "leap of faith" and commits himself to the Absolute "which is the eternal ground" of his existence, only so can he attain a measure of true or final meaning. A measure, note, for however just and God-fearing he may be, as long as he remains caught up in the contradictions and ambiguities of history he will be involved, in some degree, in anxiety and sin, and to that degree the Divine meaning will elude him.

This is an oversimplification of Herberg's essential thought, but it is sufficient to show what we have here, a version of late-modern or neo-orthodoxy (Christian as well as Jewish) currently making converts among the disillusioned. To gauge its fundamental pessimism, one need only note Herberg's stand on this question: How is history finally fulfilled and redeemed—by man's works or God's grace? Herberg replies categorically: Man is too sinful to save himself; more, "there is no hope so long as he continues to believe that he can *save himself*." Salvation is not in history but beyond it, the gift of the Kingdom announced by the Messiah. Long on God, neo-orthodoxy is very short indeed on man. MICHAEL FRAENKEL

FIVE NEW FICTIONS

HEAVEN PAYS NO DIVIDENDS, by Richard Kaufman (Viking; $3.50). THE DESCENT, by Fritz Peters (Farrar, Straus and Young; $3). LEAVES FOR THE BURNING, by Mervyn Wall Devin Adair; $3). TIME'S CORNER, by Nancy Wilson Ross (Random House; $3.50). THE CENTER OF THE STAGE, by Gerald Sykes (Farrar, Straus and Young; $3).

READING THIS (perhaps) representative group of novels by writers who are neither unknown nor particularly famous leads one to wonder again why so many novelists and publishers are so indefatigable. The simple economic explanation is unsatisfactory, for both publisher and novelist could make more money in other ways. Is it then that sensitive persons without genius can find no other outlets as satisfactory in modern society? Or are both publisher and novelist unaware that what is printed

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has, for the most part, been said before and better? Whatever the reason, I must conclude reluctantly that four of these novels by moderately gifted people are only intermittently as pleasant as mysteries to read and never excitingly illuminating—that only one of them manifests the insight and the sense of craft that compels a reviewer urgently to recommend.

Heaven Pays No Dividends, by a young German who was nineteen when Hitler came to power, faithfully records the experience of Rodie Stamm from before Nazism to the time of racketeering and disillusionment that followed World War II. With conscientious naturalism that is sometimes lightened to wit, good writing, and insight, Richard Kaufmann shows what *New Republic* readers already know: the disorder and early sorrow that led to dictatorship, the explicable and unfortunate ardour that accompanied the rise of the new Messiah, the disorder, guilt, and sorrow that followed Germany's defeat. Was it, then, intended for less knowledgeable readers or is it a promising apprentice work of a writer who may become better?

The Descent, by Fritz Peters, though it too has incidental merits, reads a good deal like a premature modernization of *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*. A group of people are involved in an automobile accident in which some are killed, some saved. Obviously the author intends to probe the mysterious causality that may underlie chance, but what most clearly emerges from the reading is a somewhat pedantic justification of the insights of Freud to man. People who haven't read a lot will find Mr. Peters' sound, well-paced exploration of neurosis and psychosis readable and illuminating; people who have, will not.

Mervyn Wall's *Leaves for the Burning* should please those who have not read Joyce, Yeats, or Frank O'Connor. It is a vividly desolate report of three relatively sensitive middle-agers to an Ireland that has become "a nation of back-slapping equals." There is wit as well as sordor in Mr. Wall's account and some harsh, effective satire of the politicians, shop-keepers, and peasants he doesn't like. Yet the totality does not communicate more than Yeats suggests in "The Second Coming" and there is a complete lack of the sympathetic understanding one finds sometimes in Joyce and always in O'Connor.

Time's Corner, by Nancy Wilson Ross, starts out quietly but tensely. A young woman who has been deserted by her married lover is trying to find herself in an Anglican retreat. Her problems, the nuns, and the assembled neurotics are introduced with enticing plausibility, but the novel descends, after a hundred excellent pages, into melodrama that mingles marajuana, a mad doctor, and mystical Christianity so indiscriminately that one feels he is reading a Class B movie. Miss Ross has talent but she also seems to be fatally attracted by the speciously extraordinary.

Although he is obviously indebted to modern psychology in his substance and to Henry James in his craft, Gerald Sykes, in *The Center of the Stage*, shows himself to be an original and provocative new novelist. The plot is firmly centered about the damaged and damaging personality of Carlotta Holderness, who has absorbed all the worst possibilities of American culture and exhibits the worst potentialities of contemporary womanhood. Gradually and skillfully we see revealed what she has done and may do to her unusually sane husband, to her lovers, and to her son. This structure that convincingly threatens and shows violence is inseparable from a texture that includes a rich variety of physical sights and sounds, psychological quirks and normalities, and a vast number of ideas that appear to apply relevantly to the dilemma of modern man.

Any reviewer must feel complete description impossible. Though he is a little too perfect, and a little too gulled by Carlotta, David Holderness is surely the most intelligent idealistic scientist American fiction has presented since Arrowsmith. The other characters—the escapist Catholic, his wife the vaginolater, the young poetess in search of a faith, the businessman who knows only abstractions, the Hollywood producer who regrets his lost faith in Communism—are magnificently presented and beautifully interrelated to the sanity of David and the representative abnormality of Carlotta. Mr. Sykes has mastered his craft as well as comprehended and illuminated the society he lives in. Perhaps the real virtue of the American way of encouraging too many writers and supporting too many publishers is that once in a while this system permits the emergence of a writer of the stature of Mr. Sykes.

HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER

IT'S ALL GREEK TO ME

by Eric Bentley

THE SIMULTANEOUS APPEARANCE in New York of Barrault's French company and the Greek National Theatre has raised some nice problems of theory. The critic who said that he disliked *Electra* in all the English versions but liked it in modern Greek which he does not understand was making pretty bold assumptions about the nature of language —and of drama.

What do you "like" in language you do not understand? The answer is generally held to be "the music," but for me the musical theory was refuted once for all by I. A. Richards some years ago when he showed that English has no music that is detachable from its sense by imitating the sounds of a Miltonic strophe in a piece of nonsense. The "music" of an unknown tongue is illusory. The fact that one invents such a phenomenon and then proceeds to enjoy the invention must be laid to naïve awe, snobbish xenophilia, or, more likely, to certain romantic associations clustered around literature and summer vacations. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*. The zeal of many people for opera "in the Italian original" is in direct proportion to their ignorance of Italian, for while they readily notice crudities of English, they take all the Italian librettist's geese for swans.

To prefer incomprehensible Greek to comprehensible English is also to assume that words in drama don't much matter anyway. The New York critics begin by apologizing for their lack of languages but end by judging the show, Greek or French, precisely as if they had missed nothing. One of them said he didn't know French but was sure Marivaux

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couldn't interest even those who did. Others were cautious in their remarks about writers but under no inhibitions when discussing acting.

Now can you discuss the acting of a performer whose words you don't follow? You can say you were moved or were not moved, but this is not criticism, it is data for your fever chart. A critic has to know *what* moved him, and whether it is related to the *intention* of a performance. If you consider what one of our own actors does with a line—of Shakespeare or Odets, it makes no difference—you can figure for yourself how little that is relevant a foreigner could make of it. Why do we assume that we know what Greek actors or Russians do with their lines? True, the actor's work is not confined to the handling of lines but, except when there are no lines at all, even the non-verbal "business" is apt to have a relation to the dialogue; not understanding the dialogue, you will misinterpret the business. What is over-acting? What is under-acting? You cannot spot either of them at sight. It is a case of too much or too little for the matter-in-hand, and the matter-in-hand includes the words. In Greek tragedy, it is generally agreed, the dialogue is more than half the play.

A type of art which, in Aristotle's phrase, "reveals its power by mere reading," cannot reveal its power by mere seeing. The question is: to what extent are we helped out by knowing *Electra* or *Oedipus* in translation? The answer is that you have to know the English almost by heart so that you can follow line by line without fear of getting lost, and that even then the English version you memorize must have a line-to-line correspondence with the Greek (which, at the Mark Hellinger, would have meant with a modern Greek translation). I found that to know the English in outline was not enough. In the middle of many a two-page oration, I had no idea what was being said, and, since nothing was being done, I repeatedly found my mind wandering.

A friend said that if I'd been moved by Miss Paxinou I would have been convinced it was great acting and I'd have left it at that. I was not moved. But I know I am not entitled to blame this on the actress. On the contrary, the experience makes me skeptical of all those critical pieces on Duse that were written in entire innocence of the Italian language. There are many things a woman can put across without words; dramatic literature is not one of them; and unintelligible words are not better than no words at all.

I do not mean that the event was one of uninterrupted boredom. My boredom was interrupted by Mr. Mitropoulos' music which I rather liked, by the movements of the chorus which I often enjoyed, by an occasional "stage picture" which a knowledge of the story enabled me to interpret, perhaps also by the aura of the occasion, the psychological effect of thinking, "I am in the presence of Greek tragedy in Greek played by Greeks." But no: this last can't be counted: what is expected of you can never be equated with what you really feel. In any case, boredom with interludes is not the experience we ask of theatre; incomprehension with lucid moments is no basis for criticism.

I have been told that, to be consistent, I should regret the French and Greek visits altogether. Obviously not. For one thing there are crucial differences between the two enterprises. Modern Greek is a language known to even fewer of us than ancient Greek; whereas Barrault's audience at the Ziegfeld responds to jokes that depend on a very thorough knowledge of French. Even if this were not so, few or none of the French plays are as dependent on language as the two Greek tragedies, the special art of Barrault being pantomine. Surely all the foreign companies that have had success in New York have offered much more to the eyes than the Greeks are doing. If I have regrets, the chief is over my own ignorance of Greek. I should like to check my impression, at present ill-founded, that Mr. Minotis, Miss Paxinou, and their company are second-rate.

A man once told me he liked symphonic music because it started a chain of free associations in his mind—after the first minute it was no more than the accompaniment to a daydream. Conceivably the "music" of the Greek language could serve a similar purpose; and there would be a use for the classics in Brave New World.

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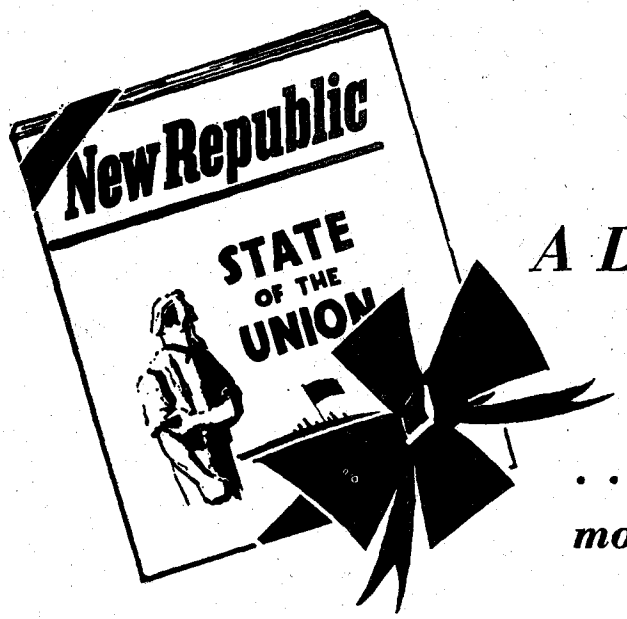

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